

State of Illinois. Done at the City of Springfield, January 9, 2009.

JESSE WHITE,
Secretary of State.

[State Seal Affixed]

STATE OF ILLINOIS
Executive Department
Springfield, Illinois

CERTIFICATE OF APPOINTMENT

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that, pursuant to the power vested in me by the Constitution of the United States and the laws of the State of Illinois, I, Rod R. Blagojevich, the governor of said State, do hereby appoint Roland Burris a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States until the vacancy therein caused by the resignation of Barack Obama, is filled by election as provided by law.

Witness: His excellency our governor Rod R. Blagojevich, and our seal hereto affixed at Chicago, Illinois this 31st day of December, in the year of our Lord 2008.

By the governor:

ROD R. BLAGOJEVICH,
Governor.

FILED
INDEX DEPARTMENT
JAN 09 2009
IN THE OFFICE OF
SECRETARY OF STATE

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH OF
OFFICE

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator-designate will now present himself to the desk, the Chair will administer the oath of office.

Mr. BURRIS, escorted by Mr. DURBIN, advanced to the desk of the Vice President; the oath prescribed by law was administered to him by the Vice President; and he subscribed to the oath in the Official Oath Book.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Congratulations.

(Applause, Senators rising.)

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, there are many paths to the Senate. It is fair to say the path that brought our new colleague from Illinois to us was unique, and that is an understatement.

Whatever complications surrounded his appointment, we made it clear from the beginning, both publicly and privately, that our concern was never with Mr. BURRIS. I did not have the pleasure of meeting Mr. BURRIS until last week. I found now-Senator BURRIS to be engaging, gracious, and he was very firm in his commitment to become a good and effective Senator.

Given the uncertainty around his appointment, all of his statements and actions, again both publicly and privately, reflected a strong character

that will serve him well as he begins his service for the people of Illinois.

I also say to my friend, DICK DURBIN, the senior Senator from Illinois, how much I appreciate working with him on this and the other matters we have worked on over the years. We have been in Washington together going back a long time, 1982. The people of the State of Illinois have been so well served by so many different people. I am confident that when the history books are written, even though Illinois has had some of the best of the best, my friend DICK DURBIN will be right there with them.

So to Senator BURRIS, on behalf of all Senators, Democrats and Republicans, we welcome you as a colleague and as a friend.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I first thank the majority leader for his kind statements. He is, indeed, more than just a colleague. For 26 years, we have worked on Capitol Hill together, and never more closely than the last 6 when I have had the honor to serve as his assistant as the Democratic whip. He is truly a great public servant, not only for the State of Nevada but for the entire Nation.

This was a test for us because we were all absolutely stricken by the news that the Governor of the State of Illinois was being arrested and under the circumstances which all America knows.

The response by the Senate was to say to this Governor: No Senate seat is ever for sale, and we are going to uphold the integrity of this institution, even though some may try to sully that integrity.

Senator REID is right, throughout the stormy weeks that followed, I do not recall a single negative word spoken by anyone in the Senate or any of ROLAND BURRIS's former colleagues about him. You can search the record. Everything said about ROLAND BURRIS was positive. The circumstances that led to his appointment were the issue, the source of the controversy.

The controversy came to an end on Monday. The Secretary of State Jesse White filed a new document after the Illinois Supreme Court ruled. The Secretary of the Senate ruled that this new document complied with the rules of the U.S. Senate, and Senator BURRIS had appeared in Springfield, as we asked him, to answer all questions about his appointment.

At that point, we were ready to move forward. I can recall phone conversations with him over the weekend telling him that things were moving in the right direction, and if he could be patient because they were coming to a good end; the ruling of the Secretary of the Senate could make all the difference.

Now we have this glorious day when so many of his friends from Illinois are here to witness his being sworn in by Vice President CHENEY, and now he has

left the floor for a few moments for the ceremonial oath that is going to be given in the Old Senate Chamber.

While he is away, I want to say a word about my old friend, ROLAND BURRIS. He literally has been my friend for over 30 years. In 1978, when we were both brand new to this business, I ran for lieutenant governor for Illinois and he ran for comptroller. Nobody had ever heard of either of us or the offices we were running for. We were as obscure as possible, but we found kinship standing in the back of parade routes as the bigwigs in the front line went on. We struck up a friendship, a friendship that has extended over three decades. And it is a friendship that is based more on just that happenstance of running in the same year. You see, ROLAND and I are from the same part of Illinois. ROLAND BURRIS was born in Centralia, Illinois, a few miles away from my hometown of East St. Louis, Illinois.

But there is more to the story. That is one of the central parts of our Nation when it comes to railroads. I come from a railroad family—my mother, my father, my two brothers, and I all worked for the New York Central Railroad. ROLAND BURRIS's family were railroad workers as well. His father Earl ran a small grocery store to supplement his income as a laborer for the Illinois Central Gulf Railroad. Earl Burris, ROLAND's father, had a strong sense of community and a low tolerance for injustice. On Memorial Day 1953, Earl Burris decided to take a stand against injustice by defying Centralia's unofficial "whites only" policy for the city's public swimming pool. So he hired a lawyer and arranged for that lawyer to meet him and young ROLAND, then 16. They were all going to go to the swimming pool. Well, guess what. The lawyer didn't show up.

ROLAND BURRIS later said that he remembered his father all summer long saying that if segregation and injustice were ever going to end, people needed to show up and be accountable. By the end of the summer, 16-year-old ROLAND BURRIS had made up his mind he would show up. He would pursue a career in politics and the law. So off he went to Southern Illinois University, at Carbondale, which incidentally has a record of being one of the most productive colleges in America for the graduates of African Americans. ROLAND BURRIS was one of those. He studied political science and distinguished himself as a leader on campus. He headed a group that exposed discriminatory practices among Carbondale merchants toward African-American students.

In 1963, he earned a law degree from Howard University. That same year, he became a Federal bank examiner at the U.S. Treasury Department—the first African American ever to hold such a position. In 1964, he was hired by Continental Illinois National Bank, where he rose to the post of vice president in less than a decade. He is a past national executive director of Operation PUSH.

In Illinois, the land of Lincoln, we have elected more African Americans statewide than any State in our Union, and we are proud of it. But it is ROLAND BURRIS who led the way in 1978, as our first African-American State comptroller and later as the first African-American attorney general in that land of Lincoln, State of Illinois. ROLAND BURRIS paved the way for so many to follow, including the man who will be sworn in as President Tuesday—Barack Obama. He has held two of our State's highest elective offices. He was Illinois' first African-American comptroller as well as our first African-American attorney general.

ROLAND BURRIS is a good man and a dedicated public servant, and that is why he has returned to public life. Now he is the 48th Senator from the great State of Illinois, and the 1,907th person ever to be sworn into this distinguished body.

Here is an interesting fact as well. ROLAND and his wife Berlean live on the south side of Chicago in a home once owned by the great, the immortal Mahalia Jackson, the original "Queen of Gospel Music." In 1948, Mahalia recorded a song that became so popular music stores couldn't keep it in stock. It sold 8 million copies. The title of that song was "Move On Up A Little Higher."

For more than 50 years, ROLAND BURRIS has sought to move on up a little higher—not for his sake alone but for the chance to help others, including our great State of Illinois. I congratulate him. I know this was a rocky road to this great day in his life, but it was a road well traveled and one that I am sure will lead him to appreciate how important this institution is, not just as part of our government but as a part of our future.

He is going to have a chance to not only serve as my colleague but the colleague of 99 other Senators who are going to be able to work with him and learn the values and talents that he brings to the job. I am honored today, by his being sworn into office, to no longer be both the senior and junior Senator from Illinois. We have a junior Senator—his name is ROLAND BURRIS—and I look forward to serving with him.

Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DISAPPROVAL OF OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE EMERGENCY ECONOMIC STABILIZATION ACT OF 2008—Continued

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all time be taken equally from both sides, as I

know we are under limited time for the debate on the TARP renewal.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DURBIN. Again I renew the request for a quorum call.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. President, would the Chair be so kind as to advise me when I have used 7 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will so advise.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. President, we have before us today a hallmark piece of legislation that is supposed to be about credit and liquidity and the significant problems we ran into this last fall in this country when we no longer had a functioning, or barely had a functioning financial industry that allowed credit to flow which would allow commerce to ensue.

It was my belief at the time, based on what I was told and what I saw, that extraordinary measures were going to be required for us to handle this significant problem. Consequently, I ended up voting for a financial recovery package that I must say has been handled in a way completely opposite of the way we were told it was going to be handled. That is now water under the bridge. The question before us today is: Are we going to give another \$350 billion—not through an oversight process, through an appropriating process—are we going to write a blank check to the Treasury Department to accomplish again what we are assured by the transition team and the incoming administration is for very specific things?

I would like to believe that. As a matter of fact, in a meeting yesterday with some of the officials of the incoming administration, I asked in a closed room where they were giving us this reassurance that this administration was not going to put more money into the auto industry under the pretext it has been done using the TARP funds; that this administration was not going to use this money for other industrial segments of our society but in fact would use this money only when and if it is necessary to keep liquidity rolling, to keep banks' balance sheets to the point where we can accomplish what we need in order to have true commerce in this country. And I must say that I felt somewhat reassured walking out of that meeting.

But one of the things I asked for in that meeting was a public statement so that the rest of America could have that same assurance. We find ourselves today, getting ready to vote on this—and that was communicated very directly, by the way, with some of the highest levels of the incoming adminis-

tration—we are about to vote on it, yet there has been no public statement whatsoever that would assure either Members of this body or the American taxpayers that we are not going to be using it to bail out companies that are not competitive and have not had to do the hard things to maintain themselves to be competitive; we have no assurance we are not going to go to other industries and do the same thing; and we do not have, in fact, a public expression, an explanation, or a letter of intent of the incoming administration that they are going to use it in a very precise and direct manner to maintain liquidity of the financial sector.

The other thing that we have not heard, along with maintaining that liquidity, is how the administration will handle the toxic assets, which is what we were told the money was for in the first place.

So I come to the floor this afternoon wanting to support our new President. I want to support him. I talked to him about this issue prior to his senior staff coming and talking to us. But I find myself in the predicament of having been fooled once by the present administration not doing what they said they were going to do. They have not been transparent as to where and how the money is being spent. The American people haven't had access. We don't know the priorities under which it was done. And now we are being told again: Trust us.

Well, I am willing to do that, provided we put out to the American people exactly what that means. And the only thing that I can figure as to why it has not been forthcoming—that is what we asked for yesterday afternoon in the meeting with those representing President-elect Obama—is that they do not want to commit. And I regret to say that if the incoming administration won't commit on paper and publicly as to how they are going to use this money, I am disinclined to vote to give it to them. That pains me, because I want our new administration to be tremendously successful in the face of all the problems we have.

To meet the goal of transparency and accountability—which is what this new administration is all about, and I believe it will be far greater than what we have seen in the past; I will give them credit for that—it is required that they publicly tell the American people how, when, why, and what they are going to use this money for. And my only conclusion would be, in the face of that statement not being forthcoming, is that they either have the votes and believe they can accomplish this without being forthcoming—which again goes exactly the opposite direction of what my friend Barack Obama campaigned on—or they weren't necessarily truthful in what they told us on how they were going to use the money.

So I stand ready to try to support them, if in fact we have assurances—public assurances and documented assurances—that they are going to follow